/87 cont./

291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[174] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

## Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is, unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[614] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko,
[816] Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

Carangas—
Chipaya

/115 cont./

161 number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not
[114] go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162 The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion:
●21 Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants
(58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and
[161] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can
123 only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who
124 gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and
161 very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that
651 this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

651
659 1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population.
[609] The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Čipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/121/

621 616 [171] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [220] [892] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [573] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-[123] making. Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/121 cont./

621 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
614 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts
[171] so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[176] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

Carangas –
Chipaya

/125 cont./

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The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Losa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

[177]

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Haka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

616 My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence [551] of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

/329 cont./

*1708 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
788 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*1708 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres
[558] /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusillawari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
[179] the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
[176]

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[616] Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
[621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
[982] Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*1708 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
104 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

/381 cont./

527 [621] At sunset taxata, tuanta, and warta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their curé in June.

342 [476] Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment [287] when the roof is covered with "linoleum," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him [273] [306] enter. The latter sit down /382/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother * [778] to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-para) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

[782] When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

342 * 778 [776] Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (mamani). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

/189 cont./

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Transport | + | + |
| Irrigation | + | - |
| Cultivation | + | - |
| Instrumental music | + | - |
| Basket-making | + | - |
| Crochet | + | - |
| Trade | + | + |
| Fishing | + | - |
| Bird hunting | + | - |

## Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Čipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /190/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Čipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta sayas have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignments of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized zeques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Čipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

/194 cont./

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the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

U
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[113]
[114]

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

U
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621

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

U
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Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

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Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

U
[764]

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938 162 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big 621 families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the [551] Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

161 was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a
162 young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The
621 Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

## Anthropometric Study

128 We had to limit our study to the essential measurements
141 of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

## Head

141 The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

**Pottery.**—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

**Stonework.**—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

**Woodworking.**—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

**Musical instruments.**—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

### ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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*Nazacara*, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*hanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Les lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know [191] Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[38] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be 179 argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some [164] time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a [178] period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi ● [62] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[38] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90–110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24



601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 563 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction 598 of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 832 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in ef- 622 fect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of 692 office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking 701 official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*huču*) or *sica quir-* 198 *kitha* (*kirkiťa*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 527 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 533 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of 535 the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilanča* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.